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中国对湄公河流域国家的外交政策的演变

The Transformation of China's Foreign
Policy toward the Mekong Region

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摘要

本文以新现实主义和“政治联系”为分析框架，论述中国对湄公河地区国家外交政策的演变。新中国成立以来，随着日益增长的经济和军事实力，中国已经成为湄公河流域的新兴力量。中国积极的外交政策使中国在湄公河流域的影响力日益扩大，削弱了其他国家对该地区的影响。最近，中国在“东盟 10+1”的框架下，中国参与大湄公河次区域的合作，彰显了其通过多种合作机制，推动地区融合，加深与其他大湄公河次区域成员国合作的外交新政策。

关键词： 湄公河； 东南亚； 中国； 外交政策

Abstract

This thesis's purpose is to analyze the transformation of China's foreign policy toward the Mekong Region by using the concept of Neorealism and the theory of "linkage politic" as the analytical framework. Since the establishment of People's Republic of China, the influence China has in the Mekong region became very significant due to China's massive economic development and modernized military capability which makes it a new regional power. Chinese foreign policy not only helps the country to maintain its influence and interest in the Mekong Region, but also reduces the influence of the other powers. In the context of ASEAN+1, Chinese participation in the Great Mekong Sub-regional Cooperation (GMS) demonstrates its leading motive for promoting regional integration. The regional integration is promoted by pursuing the various coordination mechanisms and new foreign policies to deepen China's cooperation with other GMS members.

Key Words: Mekong Region ; Southeast Asia ; China ; Foreign Policy

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List of Abbreviations

ACMECS	Ayeyawadaddy-Chao Praya-Mekong Economic Cooperation Strategy
ADB	ASEAN Development Bank
AMM	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CAFTA	China–ASEAN Free Trade Area
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CPB	Communist Party of Burma
CMLV	Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam
COMECON	Council of Mutual Economic Assistance
DRV	Democratic Republic of Vietnam
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMS	Greater Mekong Sub-region
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KIO	Kachin Independence Organization
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NSEC	North-South Economic Corridor
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PRC	People's Republic of China
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USD	United States Dollar
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organization

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

Southeast Asia can be divided into two parts: the Peninsular, or the mainland (Mekong Region), consisting of Burma, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia; and the Insular, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Philippines, and Brunei.

Figure 1: Mainland Southeast Asia Map



The economic growth of this region started from the 13th century when the Westerners arrived here, mainly for the spread of Christianity and for trade. The European Superpowers, England and France, arrived and occupied the two areas in the late 18th century and early 19th century so as to expand their influence. As a result of the industrial revolution in Europe, Southeast Asia became an essential focus of the two superpowers as they looked for new trading markets. In 1885, England occupied Burma, and it was merged with India. In the same time its counterpart, France, occupied all the countries in Indochina (Karnomai, 1980).

Anti-imperialism campaigns, with the colonies using nationalism as a primary drive, started after World War II. Although faced with economic and political problems, several countries gained independence. The democratic camp was led by U.S. while the communist camp was led by the Soviet Union and China, and they had the same aim, which was to expand their influence worldwide.

Because of the strategic location and natural resources of the countries in Southeast Asia, the major powers always wanted to maximize their influence in this region, including China which has the greatest advantage. It was not only geographically connected with this area; but its culture, political system, religion, and art wielded an enormous influence over the people of Southeast Asia. The influence of such kind is continuous and extremely constant.

To exert full influence over this region, China implemented a rigid foreign policy. The first step was to reduce the influence of Western powers which could pose a potential threat to China's security. China very much supported Vietnam during its fight with France and China started diplomatic relation with Hojimin's government after the conflict. China accepted the principles of peaceful co-existence as an effort to penetrate the U.S. blockage and improved its image on the international stage.

Along with the rapid economic growth in China, the government converts the economic power into political and military power. China is committed to expanding its role in ASEAN countries especially in Mekong basin by providing economic and military assistance. At the same time, China is making use of soft power diplomacy in order to achieve the goal mentioned above. The Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) project supported by Asian Development Bank is one of the most important projects in regional integration and China has enhanced its participation in Mekong Region through bilateral and multilateral mechanism such as transportation cooperation, Free Trade Agreement and boundary trade.

1.2 Scope of Study

The scope of this study, the transformation of China's Foreign Policy toward Mekong Region (Mainland Southeast Asia), has two main focus points. The first focus point is the duration of time in which China's foreign policy was reshaped. My research scope in term of time starts from 1949, since the establishment of new China and pays close attention to the post Cold War period because in that period China rapidly and obviously expanded its influence in the mainland area of Southeast Asia (Mekong Region), namely Thailand, Burma, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, including its participation in GMS cooperation as a vital foreign policy to strengthen relationship with GMS countries.

1.3 Methodology

This study was carried out through the analysis of data from the following:

1. Primary sources such as official documents of governmental organizations, speeches and interviews of leaders, press conferences, and international organizations agreements and treaties.

2. Secondary sources such as textbooks, thesis, journal magazines and news reports in Thai, English and Chinese from Beijing Review, China' Daily, People's Daily, Bangkok Post, Xinhua News Agency, etc.

1.4 Literature Review and Analytical Framework

1.4.1 Definitions of Power

According to the international relations structure which is used in the book *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey*, Han Morgenthau, a realist scholar, says "power is seen when one country controls or influences another country in its bid to protect its national interest. Power is not only a goal of the foreign policy; it is also an implementation instrument." (Dougherty, 1997).

The definition of power given by John J. Mearshermer (2001) is based on material capabilities, specifically the sum of military and latent power. Offensive realists argue that only the superior capability is more likely to result in a successful outcome. But let us see in detail what are the military and the latent power.

- Military Power – armed forces and supporting naval/air forces. Dominance of land power and success are defined by the ability to conquer and control the territory. It must also calculate 'inherent' (geographic) limitations on power projection, particularly the stopping power of water. The contribution of naval and airpower is limited to their roles in supporting land power. Nuclear plants do not eliminate the dominance of land power and great powers still compete for security in the nuclear age (supports with evidence of alliance patterns formed during Cold War and difficulty of achieving nuclear superiority).

- Latent Power – state's ability to translate assets of population and wealth into military power ('mobilizable' latent power). Mearsheimer focuses primarily on wealth balance that incorporates both the demographic and the economic dimension of power.

Joseph Nye (2004) categorizes the power into two: hard power, which is the military power; and soft power, which is the economic and cultural power. He provided the definition of Soft Power as "Soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced."

1.4.2 John J. Mearsheimer's Offensive Neorealism

John J. Mearshmer stated, "Great powers lead to the maintenance of the status quo. With such powers, a state will always protect itself from the influence of other powers as it seeks for more powers in order to survive" (Mearshimer, 2001). This concept belongs to offensive realism school of thought, which is the opposite of defensive realism. The international system is the factor that is pushing the great powers to expand their influence as much as possible in order to build security. Besides empowering themselves and seeking to become stronger, the great powers tend to turn into a global hegemonic power. Global hegemonic power refers to a sole hegemonic power in the world. However, the international system is still more powerful than one state alone as seen from England's role in 19th century. Although England could spread its influence, there were other European power such as Germany and France balancing the situation. So far there is no any great power that can really possess the global hegemonic status. Nevertheless it is necessary for every powerful country to maintain regional hegemonic status in their respective geographical location.

Meirshenmer cited the example involving this concept as appeared in World War I and World War II. All the powers sought hegemony; however, there was no state that achieved the hegemonic status. Even though Soviet Union located in Europe, attempted to expand its influence over other areas during the Cold War period, it could not dominate

Western Hemisphere. From this example it can be seen that a regional power's attempts to protect other powers from domination might cause the decline and damage to that very same great power.

In the eyes of the United States, Chinese actions have been threatening, even through out of the basic differences between realism and realism-aggressive. This has indeed threatened the security within America.

1.4.3 Defensive Neorealism Sources: Jeffrey W. Taliaferro

According to Neorealist theory, the international system compels states to adopt similar adaptive strategies which include balancing and emulation or risk elimination as independent entities. However, states do not always emulate the successful practices of the system's leading states in a timely and uniform fashion. Explaining this requires a theory that integrates systemic-level and unit-level variables: a "resource-extraction" model of the state in neoclassical realism.

External vulnerability provides incentives for states to emulate the practices of the system's leading states or to counter such practices through innovation. Neoclassical realism, however, suggests that state power is the relative ability of the state to extract and mobilize resources from domestic society shapes the types of internal balancing strategies that countries are likely to pursue. State power, in turn, is a function of the state's institutions, as well as a function of nationalism and ideology.

Neorealism, specifically Kenneth Waltz's balance-of-power theory, holds that the international system provides incentives for states, especially for the great powers, to adopt similar adaptive strategies or risk elimination as independent entities. States generally balance against powerful states or coalitions by forging alliances with weaker states or by

arms racing. States will tend to emulate the military, technological, and governing practices of the most successful states in the system.

States that initially enjoy higher extraction and mobilization capacity, but that face high external vulnerability, are more likely to emulate the military, governing, and technological practices of the system's most successful states, at least in the short run. On the other hand, states that lack or have low extraction and mobilization capacity, but that also face high external vulnerability, will have greater difficulty in pursuing emulation, at least in the short run. States with higher extraction and mobilization capacity but low external vulnerability have the luxury of engaging in innovation to enhance their long-term security and power. Conversely, states lacking high mobilization and extraction capacity, but that also face low external vulnerability, are less likely to pursue emulation or innovation. In the long term, states can try to increase their extractive and mobilization capabilities, and consequently increase their ability to pursue emulation or innovation, by purveying nationalist or statist ideologies. A lack of nationalist sentiment or an anti-statist ideology held by the public or elites, however, can limit the state's ability to emulate or innovate. In these circumstances, vulnerable states are more likely to persist in existing strategies.

Neoclassical realism stresses the causal primacy of structural variables, chiefly the relative distribution of material power and anticipated power trends, in shaping states' foreign policies. Systemic forces create incentives for all states to strive for greater efficiency in causing security for themselves. Yet, as Jennifer Sterling-Folker has noted, "anarchy does not dictate how states should arrange their domestic processes to achieve that end. States are free to experiment, to emulate one another's practices, or to do nothing. Nonetheless, domestic processes act as the final arbiter for states' survival within the anarchic environment" (Sterling-Folker, 1997).

1.4.4 Linkage Politic Theory

Linkage theory is James N. Rosenau's international relation theory which studies the factors which influence the Foreign Policy. It consists of Internal Factors and External Factors. He defined politics as the imposition of Foreign Policy which conducts the analysis based on the two factors as Linkage Politics and Linkage Theory. This Theory mainly identified that International Politics have a close relation with Domestic politics and there is an overlapping gap between each other. It means International Politics can be both a cause and a result of domestic politics. On the contrary, environment or phenomena of domestic politics impact the behaviour and the imposition of foreign policy.

James Rosenau expressed the need for a linkage approach in the analysis that would combine the influence of international constraints and domestic determinants as policy inputs to explain a country's foreign policy. The emphasis of the international-domestic linkage approach is on the interdependence and overlap of national and international systems. Rosenau presented three basic linkage processes – *penetrative*, *reactive* and *emulative* – to elaborate his linkage theory.

- A penetrative process occurs when members of one political party serve as participants in the political process of another.
- A reactive process is the contrary of a penetrative one. It is brought into being by recurrent and similar boundary-crossing reactions rather than by the sharing of authority.
- An emulative process is established when the input is not only a response to the output but takes essentially the same form as the output.

Rosenau also gave the explanation of Internal Factors and External Factors as follows:

Internal Factors or Internal environments are factors or situations happening inside a country, with an impacting on Foreign Policy (Rosenau, 1969).

- The role of the Elite group and the Authority that play a role in the Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process
- Economic Environment and Conditions
- Internal Political Problems
- Ideology
- Role of Interest Groups and Political Parties
- Public Opinion and the Role of the Media

External Factors or External Environments are identified as (Rosenau, 1969)

- Political situations in foreign countries which might involve Foreign Policy Imposition and Implementation
- Other environments such as International Politic Climate and Foreign Policy of other countries in that period

According to Rosenau's concept, the International Political Relations concept was explained by the fact that global societies have been linked with technological development and telecommunication, and therefore, a larger environment including the economy, society and technology of each country impact the domestic political system. In the same time, the International Political System, although has interactions in the international environment, influences the domestic politics and it is impacted by domestic incidents.

Considering foreign policy in each case, the existing internal and external factors might have an influence on policy-making and behaviour of political entities in different levels. On one hand, each internal factor has a different level of relation, and causes the

different impact on external factors. On the other hand, some external factors might have more importance and influence on internal factors rather than other external factors. Besides, in the international political system, there is an interaction between internal and external factors in a rational way. That interaction will influence the policy-making process and the behaviour of political entities, hence, it is necessary to consider both factors in analyzing political entities.

1.4.5 Outline

This thesis has five chapters. The first chapter introduces the thesis statement and looks at the background of the study, while defining the hypothesis and the methods used in the study. It finally highlights the analytical theories that are used here-in. Chapter two analyzes the Chinese foreign policy before 21st Century. Chapter three examines Chinese foreign policy in the post Cold War period. Chapter four examines the Chinese participation in GMS cooperation. Chapter five summarizes all the findings.

Chapter 2: Chinese Foreign Policy toward Mainland Southeast Asia before the 21st Century

The Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Mao Zedong took control of China and established the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. By then, the Mainland Southeast Asia consisted of sovereign states and colonies that were fighting for independence from Western imperialism. Some of the Southeast Asian countries, such as Burma, successfully obtained independence from England in 1948 but some were still fighting for it. Only Thailand was able to maintain its own sovereignty during colonization period. China preferred that the countries in Southeast Asia recognized its Communist Party and that they would be friendly to its government; however, the Cold War environment caused dissent between Communist and Democratic nations. Consequently, the suspicion between two camps existed for decades.

In this Chapter, I will analyze the relation between China and Mainland Southeast Countries from 1945 to 1999. The study is divided into four parts: The New China under Mao's presidency (1949-1966); China's policy before Cambodian Crisis (1967-1977); Chinese policy during the Cambodian conflict (1978-1989); and China's policy in the post Cold War period (1990-1999).

2.1 The New China under Mao' presidency (1949-1966)

After the victory of the Chinese Communist Party over the Nationalist, new China was officially established as "People's Republic of China". The countries in the Southeast Asia had different attitudes toward China due to the difference of political ideologies, particularly Thailand and Philippines, while some other countries were calling for independence from the Western imperialism and were completely dedicated to this purpose.

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